

# NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

Without Concealment—Without Compromise.

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SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, Editor.

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## Selections.

DR. COX'S LETTER.

The Philadelphia Citizen very appropriately republishes the following letter from the Rev. Dr. Cox, who is now presiding as Moderator over the General Assembly of the New School Presbyterian Church, in session in that city. In that Assembly are several clergymen who claim possession of stolen coats with men in them:

AUBURN, N. Y. February 10, 1836.

To Dr. Jonathan A. Allen, Middlebury, Vt.:  
DEAR SIR:—Yours of the 25th ultimo, duly reached me; but my official duties have hindered this answer for several days; and at present, I feel that the time adequate to the preparation of a proper answer, is not at my disposal.

You especially invite my attention to the questions "What have Christians in the non-slaveholding States to do with Slavery? Ought they to hold communion with slaveholders, or slave-dealers, even if the cases are modified as much as that of the Rev. Dr. Cox, for example?"  
There is a manifest difference between principles abstractly and absolutely viewed, and their application to particular cases; these may be qualified and even palliated, just for the same reason that they may be aggravated also, by circumstances. That Slavery, the system identically of our own country, is intrinsically and essentially wrong, is at variance with the prevailing righteousness of the moral empire of God, or, as the lawyers say, *in malum in se*, is a proposition of almost self-evident truth. I know that all masters are not equally cruel, covetous, or obdurate; and that all slaves are not equally abused; nay, that some are treated comparatively well and kindly, and are comparatively happy. But what of this as it respects the conscience? It is all one system. Every owner of a slave, not even my honored friend above named excepted, upholds the system—lends it the awful sanction of his practice, his influence, and his name; and is, like a temperate drinker, (as it respects another grand moral interest of reform,) a mighty obstacle to the ascendancy of correct sentiment and correct action in the community.

I am more struck with the similarities of injury, than with the seeming exceptions of favor, in the privations and degradations of the slaves. The experience of the worst treated, is the liability of the best treated to them all, and the system is one; and the differences are comparatively inconsiderable—that they vary not the principle or the casuistry of the matter—that the system is utterly and awfully wrong—that no Christian ought to do evil that good may come in favor of it; and that those who care for their souls, and for the approbation of God Almighty, ought not to be driven from the true state and nature of these matters and their involved issues.

As to the principle as related to the moral code of God, I hesitate not a moment to say, that other things being equal, a slave of any description ought to be excluded from the communion of the Church; and that, by consequence, the members of the Church, individually, ought to withdraw communion from slaveholders and slave-dealers universally. Whatever in the system, or in our support of it, is morally wrong, is no small criminality. It is peculiar, rather than venial. It is the moral annihilation and perdition of our fellow-creatures—each one of them a brother of the species—an immortal—a man in body, soul, and spirit. And is it for the sake of a few dollars, that we should condescend to wear our common nature, in the person of Jesus Christ, on his throne, and to call every man his brother—such emphatically, if he loves the Saviour?—and to be represented on the earth, by the poor and the oppressed? And the King shall answer, and say unto them, *Verily I say unto you, because ye have done this unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.*

The application of these reasonings, or of this principle of non-communion, is, as I have said, another matter. I shall view it as related to those who are actual slaves in some way, and those who advocate and approve their cause. Of these, inevitably—

1. In reference to the speculative slaves or the pro-slavery advocates, in Church and State, especially among us here at the North, I think, on the principle that light graduates guilt, our church discipline must probably begin with them. We must not be partakers of other men's sins. We must have no fellowship with the wicked, but rather reprove them. Now, our old maxim is a sound one—THE PARTAKER IS AS BAD AS THE THIEF. I say it is sound, for so says God himself. When thou savest a thief, thou consentest with him, declares the Holy Ghost, in the fifth Psalm; where the duty of Judgment is ascribed to its principles, and anti-slavery is its decisions; and where God condemns the castaways, on the principle that they approved the evil that others did. Thus the apostle charged a promiscuous audience with the crimes that other hands than theirs perpetrated against the life of Jesus Christ. *Ye denied the Holy One and the Just, and desired a murderer to be granted unto you, and killed the Prince of Life, whom God hath raised from the dead; whereof we are witnesses.* On the same principle, we have all justified his murderers, appropriated their crime, and crucified HIM ourselves. And what their plea for doing this among us, in the matter of Slavery? Whether he is in form or in ingenuity, it is, so far as I have yet seen, an excuse framed on the principle of expediency. It is all a short-sighted, time-bound, truth-denying plea of convenience. I should think, that it may be expedient to sin against God, in certain instances and circumstances! What fools the martyrs were! If their "noble army" could only have gone to school to certain modern casuists, they might have learned how to fear them that kill the body. The millennium can never come, nor the Gospel spread its genuine influences in our own country, nor missions prosper, till the total system of Slavery is abolished. O, what a sin is Slavery!

We must do more than not approve it; we must not only not approve it, but firmly, testily against it; or, calm conscience afloat, for excepting, from our testimony against sin, one of the greatest of its systems. We must let our light shine, if we have any. We must practically interpret Hebrews 13, 3;—*Psalm 61, 1—3;—James 2, 4—9;—Matthew 23, 19—20;—Romans 1, 14.* A very great duty in New England, just after I was mobbed in New-York for pitying the poor—through the influence of the pious editors of daily papers in that city; and their satellites—wrote me a letter, the sum of which was, that I had nothing to do

with Slavery, and had better say nothing about it, as a minister of the Gospel, or as a man. I replied, mainly requesting an answer to these two questions:—  
1. Is the system of Slavery, as it exists concretely—not in the abstract—in our country, morally wrong, morally right, or morally characterized at all? 2. If it is, how can it be proved that a minister of the Gospel, a Christian, or a man, in this country, has no moral relation to it? He sent me a verbal message of thanks for my answer—promise a reply to it; but eighteen months, nearly, have passed without its reception.

In reference to actual slaves in our country, the application of the non-communion principle to their case, is one of solemn moment. It will live to be discussed; and not lately have I first considered it. But my paper, I see, is too near its limits, to authorize me in this communication properly to enter on it. This I may employ an early opportunity to do in another paper. Then the magnitude of its relations—the complicated circumstances of our Southern brethren in respect to it—the progress of light—the nature of sins of ignorance, and the proper season and manner of action on our part, will come to be considered in the treatment of the question. I am very far from wishing to say or do one rash thing, on this subject of thrilling and never-to-be-forgotten.

In what remains of this paper, I would dwell on the enormity of the whole system of Slavery, both as to its original sin, and as to its innumerable actual transgressions that flow from it. It is founded in man-stealing, which is high felony and piracy by all our colored brethren were disaboliately stolen in Africa, cruelly forced over the ocean, and sold, because they were bought, in our country; they and their offspring with them, prospectively, to the last generation of time, were purchased and confirmed to their owners and their heirs forever. Now, as to the equity of the title. Trace the stream to its source. Can man make equity?

Appropos—it is just a year, on the 3d instant, since the Rev. Mr. Ludlow, of New-York, known and honored for his hearty faithfulness in this, and every other good cause, and myself, were taking tea in that city, at the house of one of my beloved families, for I was then a pastor, when a villain or two slipped into the hall and stole our oranges, in the twinkling of an eye. The next day we entered a description of them at the police office, in some dubious hopes of their restoration. About three days after I called alone, and had the pleasure to identify him, in their capacious wardrobe. It was strangely like the case of the thieves actually brought the other day, with Mr. Ludlow's coat on him, to the office complaining, virtually, as the event showed, that his co-thief was not equitable in dividing the booty; when they were both taken into custody, and the coat restored to its owner.

But where, said I, is my new Boston wrapper, for which I paid a round sum, the previous week? These were the thieves that took it also, and at the same time. Very like, Sir, said the officers, you will never find it. They probably sold it to some equally honest purchaser, who encourages the trade; and there are many such in the city. But if sold from one to another a thousand times, and we find it at last, we are not to be all huzza and restore it to you; for stealing, you know, can never make a title; and buying stolen goods, is no lawful possession.

Well, thought I, let my wrapper go—and gone it is, to this day. But let me see—stealing can never make a title to a suit or a wrapper. What then if I had been in respect to the Government side of these things, we were to pledge ourselves to use what we sold successfully to a thousand purchasers, would not my present owner have an equitable title at last? Why, no—if a man is as important as a wrapper. I have only room to say,

Yours, in love,  
SAML' H. COX.

From the Boston Courier.

UNITARIAN CONFERENCE.

At a meeting of the CONFERENCE OF UNITARIAN CLERGYMEN, held in this city, yesterday, at the Church of the Messiah, the following resolutions, presented by the Rev. Theodore Parker, were discussed and adopted:

Whereas, the sin of Slavery has long existed and continually increased in the midst of us, and at this time has brought upon our land the evil and the terrible sin of war; Therefore, Resolved,

1. That we, the members of this Christian conference, abhor the institution of Slavery as it is now established in our land, and supported by the Government of the North no less than of the South; that we count it alike unchristian and at war with the noble nature of man, and the commandments of God, and that we mourn over the silence of our legislators, and the deadness of our churches in respect to this alarming sin.

2. Resolved, That we lament the chastisement of a disaffected and infamous war, which our coldness, deadness, and sin have drawn upon us; that we of this conference, as Christian ministers, and in the presence of Almighty God, solemnly pledge ourselves to use what ability we possess, to rebuke and abolish the unchristian spirit which has so long continued, deepened, and extended this national sin, and brought this chastisement upon us; and that we will labor manfully to promote and spread abroad among the people the spirit of true peace, which is the spirit of freedom, as opposed to all bondage, the spirit of peace and brotherhood, as hostile to all war.

The above resolutions called forth a brief but animated discussion, indicating that there was but one feeling among those present, upon the subjects to which they relate. It is not useful with this body, as such, to pass resolutions, or to vote upon any subject which we are called upon to regard them; their purpose is rather to meet for intellectual improvement, and quicken each others minds and hearts in the work of the Christian ministry. But the present crisis in our national and domestic affairs, together with the general apathy that seems to prevail in the community upon the responsibility which our Government has assumed, and in which it is endeavoring to involve the whole country, seemed to demand a more public expression of feeling and opinion, such as is embodied in these resolutions. Their passage was not unanimous; some perhaps, disliking to depart from the usual customs of the body; but a large proportion of the present voted for them, and we manifest. Whatever may be our peculiar notions as to the propriety of passing such resolutions often, and as a general custom, the present juncture in our affairs seems to demand of us, that we should set them aside, and the more especially since the resolutions cannot be considered as reflecting upon one another, as to our previous conduct, nor as setting up any principle that can be liable to obstruct the future action of individuals.

The position in which we of Massachusetts are placed, by the action of the Executive Government of the Union, and by the acquiescence of our own chief magistrate in that action, as appears from the address he has made to the people of this State, and the deep damnation of this war, in which our fathers and brothers and sons are called to enlist. We had supposed that the people of Massachusetts still held in remembrance the deeds of their fathers, in defence of those "inalienable rights," which God has entrusted to man. Much as we have been taunted with being the defenders of Slavery, we did not suppose that as a community we were ready actually to take up arms in its defence, and go forth to battle in company with the open champions of the "peculiar institution." Recent events, however, have disabused us of this error, and we have learned with shame that citizens of this State, even before the requisition from the President was made public, volunteered their services to aid in carrying forward this "unrighteous scheme of slaveholding demagogues."

It may have been folly to have indulged the imagination of such a thing; but we did secretly hope that our own Executive would refuse the call of the chief magistrate of the Union. Indeed, it is not too late yet; for though a regiment of infantry has been called for, and measures are now in operation for its speedy enrollment, we hope and trust that it will never be permitted to go out of the State—that the Executive of the Commonwealth will refuse, as did

one of his predecessors, in the war of 1812 and 1813, to send troops away from our own territory.

If, by the action of the National Government, our persons and property are placed in jeopardy, we are not of the number of those who deny the right and the duty of defending them; we would do so, however, with grief and pain in our hearts, and not with the swelling passions that are excited by the love of acquisition and military renown. We would contend to the last for our inalienable rights, for our property, and for those whom we love. But we cannot, in any sense, defend a war begun by Slavery, and to be carried on for the perpetuation of that abominable evil. Whatever the laws of the country may have been, whatever the usages may be, to the contrary, we would suffer fine, imprisonment, or death, rather than become a partner in the iniquitous scheme of aggression upon a sister republic, for the purpose of defending the sin of Slavery.

We had hoped there was something of this same spirit in others; the crisis of the country demands it. Our countrymen as descendants of those who fought the battles of the Revolution, and purchased for us the inalienable rights of freedom, demands that we should protest openly against this war, into which nothing but party ambition and the want of statesmanlike wisdom on the part of our rulers have involved us. The Hartford Convention, that great bazaar to modern politicians, and the Convention of 1820, with its embodiment of true patriotism, putting to shame the readiness and zeal with which our people respond to a call to go forth into a contest, with which that of 1812 and 1813 bears no comparison, as unjust, iniquitous, and indefensible. Have we of Massachusetts forgotten that Convention, or are we so bound by the spell, which demagogues have raised by the power of that phrase, appealing to the ignorance of the present concerning the past, that we dare not invoke its spirit back again to rebuke the folly and madness that rules in the councils of the nation? For our worthy chief magistrate forgotten it, or is he afraid to stand in the gap at this present crisis, and call upon the people of the Commonwealth to gather about him, in condemnation of this war of aggression and incursion upon a neighboring people?

"There was a Brutus once that would have brooked  
The eternal devil, to keep his state in Rome!"

And is there not enough of love for liberty in these days of reverence for justice, and humanity, and religion, to brook the spirit of "wickedness in high places," that we may maintain our national integrity unimpaired, and save ourselves from responsibility in a war that is demanded by no principle that any man amongst us can defend without violating the teachings of his own conscience?

"Brutus had rather be a villager,  
Than to tempt himself at night with Rome  
Under these bad conditions as this time  
Is like to lay upon us."

J. A. B.

From the Independent Democrat.

HOW SLAVERY RULES THE NORTH.

To the true friend of liberty and the rights of man, there is no fact more discouraging than the base subservience with which Northern men have bowed to the mandates of the South. From the adoption of our Constitution to this hour, there has never been a contest involving Liberty and Slavery, in which the slave-power has been so completely victorious. The Constitution itself was little less than an unconstitutional surrender of Northern rights to Southern wrongs.

We like to think well and speak well of the Constitution. Perhaps it was the best that could then be obtained. But good as it was, it contained the seeds of all the encroachments of Slavery which have followed. They clause which permits Southern merchandise and chattels to be represented like Northern freemen upon the floor of Congress was the great entering wedge which has cleft in twain the power of the North ever since. Had the North been united and true to themselves, that clause had never been in the Constitution. Had Northern politicians been as faithful to liberty as the South have been to Slavery, the last slave would long since have been sent to the gallows. United, the North has always been strong enough to resist every encroachment of Slavery. Divided, she has bent and crouched before the denon of oppression, whenever and wherever he has stood in her path. Beyond the Boston of our friends, the spirit of liberty has receded, while the slave-power has marched in triumph over every rampart of the Constitution.

Unlike the North, the South have never been divided. The slave-power has never trusted itself in the hands of cowards or traitors. Differ as they might in other respects, Southern politicians have been true to Slavery than the needle to the pole. It has been, at all times, the tutelary deity before whose altar they have never failed to offer their morning and evening sacrifice. With respect to the North, their motto has always been, "Divide and conquer." They have divided and conquered. They have never failed to return, and they have never offered the price of treason when it was not accepted.

The eccentric John Randolph, while the Missouri question was before Congress, said:

"We do not govern them (the people of the North) by our black slaves, but by their own white slaves. We know what we are doing. We of the South are always united; from the Ohio to Florida, and we can always unite; but you of the North are better able to divide. *We have conquered you once, and we can, and we will, conquer you again. Ayed, Sir, we will drive you to the wall, and when we have you there once more, we mean to keep you there, and will you down like base mean.*"

Never were unspiced words truer, or more pregnant with fearful instruction to the North, and to the whole country. It is literally true—it is solemn history, that Slavery has been the ruling power of the white slaves. "We are now nearly, or quite 'driven to the wall.' The slave-power has, at this moment the control of every department of Government; and the North is boldly told, that no man can hold a place of profit or trust under the Constitution, who has ever thought or spoken irreverently of the demagogue of Slavery.

What will be the end of these things? Heaven only knows. One thing is certain—there will be no end of them till the North shall be true to themselves, and to the spirit of their fathers. There will be no remedy till Northern freemen shall spurn from their counsels those "white slaves"—their Athertons, their Norries, and Burkes, who have betrayed and sold them. True men and free men must be sent into the halls of Congress—men who dare stand up and bear the lion of Slavery in his very den—men whom neither office nor the blandishments of power can corrupt, or allure from the path of truth, liberty, and eternal right. Then, and not till then, shall the on-rolling wave of Slavery be stayed. Then, and not till then, shall the Declaration of American Independence begin to be the Bible of American Liberty.

MR. CLAY'S SLAVE, LEWIS RICHARDSON.

We have given one side of this story, we give now the other, from the Lexington (Ky.) Observer & Reporter. Even should this account be true, and the "boy" be all that he is represented, we consider it as a remarkable fact that so much pains is taken to invalidate the testimony of a "lying, drunken, worthless, fugitive slave." If we may not in charity consider it a proof of the weakness of Mr. Clay's case, it is at least an evidence of the moral effect of the Anti-Slavery movement.

We comply with the request of Mr. Barnett (the overseer of Mr. Clay, at Ashland) in publishing the testimonials found in our paper to-day, in relation to the runaway slave, Lewis Richardson. Our readers are probably not generally informed that state-ments obtained; it is alleged, from the mouth of Lewis, full of the vilest falsehoods and grossest exaggerations in respect to his treatment at Ashland, have been for several months past circulating in the abolition papers; and that Lewis having found his way to Upper Canada, a meeting of the inhabitants of the village of Amherstburg was called to listen to a narrative from his own lips of his pretended sufferings and wrongs, the proceedings of which meeting, duly signed and attested by its officers, have been published. There must have been some considerable number of the part of her Britannic Majesty's subjects

in listening to the strains of pathetic eloquence, from a lying, drunken, worthless, fugitive slave! If they shall ever read the mass of evidence now presented, they must poignantly feel how supremely ridiculous they have rendered themselves.

We think that Mr. Clay has been perfectly right in declining, himself, to take any notice of Lewis's absurd and unfounded tale, cheered and countenanced though it be by all the inhabitants of the Queen of England's town of Amherstburg, and backed by Mr. Q. F. Atkins. After having lived down so many other columns, Mr. Clay has properly left this to the inherent falsehood which it carries on its face, and to the refutation of the documents now published by Mr. Barnett.

To the Editor of the Observer & Reporter:—I request you to publish the accompanying testimonials in relation to Lewis Richardson (a fugitive slave of Mr. Clay). His case has been made the occasion of an unmerited attack upon Mr. Clay. Not he, but I am justly chargeable with any blame, if there be any in the treatment of Lewis. These testimonials will show to all candid and impartial persons whether any wrong has been done. They embrace,

No. 1. My own certificate.  
No. 2. The statement of Mr. J. S. Hutchison.  
No. 3. That of Col. Thos. A. Russell.  
No. 4. E. A. Dudley, Esq.; and  
No. 5. Dr. Halstead.

Your obedient servant,  
AMBROSE H. BARNETT.

MR. BARNETT'S STATEMENT.

Understanding that publications are going the rounds of the abolition papers, (some of which have been shown me,) representing that I, as the overseer of the Hon. H. Clay, had treated Lewis, his slave, (who calls himself Lewis Richardson,) with severity, I have thought it my duty, I trust due to myself and to truth, to make a full and true statement of the circumstances out of which these publications have grown. They are founded upon Lewis's own account of the matter, and of course it is material to know his general character and conduct.

I think I have never known a worse negro. Drunk, gambling, dissolute, and riotous, he has been ever outbitten by the inhabitants to appear in certain neighborhoods, to which he had been in the habit of resorting on the Sabbath and selling whisky and creating disorder. He has been put in the warehouse for disorderly conduct in Lexington, where his wife resides. And he has often given me the most provoking and insulting language, and even struck me. On the day when I corrected him, (and when he says I gave him one hundred and fifty lashes,) Mr. James G. Hutchison, Mr. Wickliffe's overseer, was present, and his statement accompanies this. I chastised him for accumulation of faults and acts of disobedience passed over by me from time to time, among which, that of his neglect to come at the time appointed, according to my express orders, to kill hogs, was the least. His wife, living in town, only about a mile and a half from Ashland, he might have attended as other slaves, who had wives in town, did attend at the time appointed. But the truth was, that he was drunk and insolent, and on the Sabbath, in one of his drunken frolics, and when he did come he showed the effects of dissipation. When I rebuked him for his tardiness, instead of apologizing he gave me insulting language.

Knowing that it was against Mr. Clay's wishes that I should ever whip a servant of his, I but as that he was a worse negro, I was obliged to do so. Disagreeable as it was, I felt it to be my duty at last to correct him, and Mr. Hutchison having come over, I requested him to remain whilst I corrected him. I was entirely free from passion, perfectly cool, and performed the painful duty as deliberately as I have ever done any other. Instead of one hundred and fifty lashes, I did not give him more than sixteen, and stopped under acknowledgments made by him of his misconduct, and promises of amendment in future.

The publications to which I have alluded abound in the grossest exaggerations and falsehoods. It is not true that any preparations were made on the Sabbath for killing hogs at Ashland. It is not true that Lewis was ignorant of the intention to enter on that business upon Monday morning. He was well informed of it, and knew how important and usual it is to commence early in the morning on such occasions. It is not true that he asked me to go to see his wife the previous Saturday night. He went, or might, if he pleased, go every night of the week without any particular request. The tale of his being struck with a hand-pike by me, &c. is unfounded. It is wholly destitute of truth that Mr. Clay and I had any interview on the subject of the chastisement of Lewis, and consequently untrue that we agreed that one hundred and fifty lashes must be inflicted, and broke in by three hundred lashes well laid on. Mr. Clay, on the contrary, as far as I know or believe, was unapprized of the correction I gave Lewis until after it happened; and the tale of the manner in which it was inflicted is a fabrication from beginning to end. When Mr. Clay was informed of his having done so, he prevented my pursuing him, and expressed a hope that he would never again appear at Ashland. When, in his absence, last winter, one of his sons was informed by letter from Ohio, that Lewis could be taken and brought back, he answered, as he told me, that his father and his family were glad that he had left his service, hoped he never would return, and that no effort would be made to bring him home.

Far from any severity being practised at Ashland, I have never known a more indulgent master than Mr. Clay, and his slaves are well treated in all respects. Their clothing is good, and their food abundant. They are allowed one pound of sugar on per day, and the young in that proportion. They have bread without limitation, and vegetables. Several of the families raise fowls and vegetables. Nobody, black or white, at Ashland, I believe, regrets Lewis's absence; and if the Queen of England's subjects at Amherstburg (who appear to have been seduced by the advertising card sent as a bait from his presence and society, I am sure they will not be evaded.

As to the character of Lewis, I have procured the accompanying statements from Col. Thomas A. Russell, and E. A. Dudley, (both gentlemen of the highest respectability, who have been members of the Legislature of Kentucky, and of the House of Representatives of Dr. Halstead.

AMBROSE H. BARNETT.

MR. HUTCHISON'S STATEMENT.

I have seen a publication in the Cleveland American, under the signature of Q. F. Atkins, relating to Lewis, or Lewis Richardson, a runaway slave of the Hon. Henry Clay; and as I am the overseer of Mr. Wickliffe, referred to in that publication, I think it right to correct the extravagant misrepresentations which it contains, by presenting a true statement of the transaction which it grossly perverts.

My residence is at Mr. Wickliffe's farm, separated from that of Mr. Clay only by a road. I have been frequently at Mr. Clay's, and have heard him express his disapprobation of Lewis. One morning in November or December last, I was at Ashland, in company with Mr. Barnett, Mr. Clay's overseer. He remarked that he had a very painful duty to perform that morning; that Lewis had been guilty of frequent misconduct; that he had remonstrated with him, but that instead of his improving, he had grown worse, and was very insolent and offensive; and that he would have to take a more rigorous course with him. Mr. Barnett requested me to be present at his correction, as he might offer resistance, in which case he might be compelled to resort to more violent measures than he wished to employ. I was present. Mr. Barnett was free from anger, cool, and deliberate, and talked, and reasoned with Lewis about his repeated instances of misconduct. The chastisement was inflicted with a switch of moderate size, and so far from one hundred and fifty lashes being given, the number did not exceed fifteen or sixteen, and I am sure he was not seriously hurt. He had all acknowledged, and pledged his honor he would do better in future. The story told by Mr. Atkins, as to his being tied up, and kept naked a long time in the cold, is unfounded. Mr. Clay was not present, and as far as I know, or believe, did not know of the fact of Lewis being corrected. Certainly nothing was said at the time that would have induced me to need not testify to Mr. Clay's indulgence and kindness to his slaves (see

verbal of whom he has emancipated) so well known in his neighborhood. J. G. HUTCHISON.

FAYETTE COUNTY, (Ky.) April 1st, 1846.

I am requested by Mr. Ambrose H. Barnett (the manager of the Hon. H. Clay) to state my knowledge of the general character of Lewis, a slave, lately belonging to Mr. Clay, but now absconded. The boy Lewis was born the property of my father, and is now about fifty years of age, and twenty years younger than myself—we were raised boys together. In 1816, when beginning to farm for myself, my father gave me Lewis. From our early association in life, I endeavored to be a kind and merciful master—sparing the rod when often it was absolutely required.

In 1824, he made an attempt on my life, by attempting to drown me in a mill-pond on North Elk-born. Superior physical power on my part, alone saved my life. He ran off—I pursued and apprehended him in Urbana, Ohio—and on getting home I sold him for the South. So far as I believe, he was first carried to Louisiana, where, reports say, he stabbed, and killed his overseer. To save his value, his master ran, and sold him in Mississippi. Here he fell in with a Missouri trader, and prevailed on him to purchase him—he (Lewis) having ascertained that all my family, save myself, had emigrated to that State. He saw my brother, Col. Russell, and prevailed on him to purchase him, which he did at a high price.

When on a visit to my friends in Missouri, to my astonishment I saw my old Lewis, who begged me to buy him and carry him back to Kentucky—to this request, I positively refused. When about leaving for home, at the earnest solicitation of my brother, I was induced to bring him home with me. He was submissive and attentive to me, on a steamboat at St. Louis. On reaching home, I hired him out for several months—my brother came from Missouri, and sold him to Mr. Clay—and I have always thought that the consideration paid for him was intended more as a matter of accommodation to my brother, under existing circumstances, than for the benefit of Mr. Clay.

Indeed, but a short time before Lewis ran off, Mr. Clay invited me to take the boy off his hands in any way I might think proper. Knowing Lewis too well, I declined taking him in any way.

Lewis has all his life been a very bad boy—fond of intoxicating drink, and when drunk, vicious, dangerous, and recklessly inclined—disposed to fight white or black, as they came in his way.

I have known Mr. Clay from infancy—have often been at his house, and for the first time, from a creditable source, I have yet to hear the charge of his being a cruel and tyrannical master. The reverse of this may be true—that his slaves are spoiled by too great indulgence. THOMAS A. RUSSELL.

FAYETTE COUNTY, (Ky.) May 10th, 1846.

Louis, (a fugitive slave from the Hon. Henry Clay) has been known by me for some years. He was, for a time, in the habit of visiting my farm. I had learned his general character from my father-in-law, Col. Russell, (to whom he once belonged,) and I colored his visits only in consideration of the fact, that his daughter belonged to me, and I felt unwilling to forbid him coming to see her. His conduct at length became intolerable, and I notified him, that for the future, I would not permit him to visit my farm under any case whatever, and this notice I enforced. The causes of complaint against him, were, in part, the habit of being intoxicated, insolent deportment, and vindictive temper, when intoxicated—carrying whisky with him through the country on the Sabbath, as well as other days, for retail among the servants—coming and going at improper hours—carrying on improper traffic with other servants, and inciting to acts of desertion and dishonesty among them. It has been between two and three years since I forbade his visiting my farm. E. A. DUDLEY.

I have known the negro boy Lewis, belonging to Mr. Clay, for several years, and know him to be a drunken, refractory, dangerous negro. J. S. HALSTEAD.

## The Standard.

NEW ENGLAND CONVENTION.

Substance of a Speech of William Henry Channing, at Faneuil Hall, on the afternoon of May 28th, 1846.

MR. CHAIRMAN:—You have expected speakers to be brief in their remarks, as we have no time to lose. You were right in giving this warning. This is the hour for acts rather than for words, and when one's words, if he must speak, should be so full of force as to be acts. How few of this great multitude, how few of our countrymen are awake to the solemn issues of this crisis. It is the judgment-day of the United States! Yet with what mad apathy, or madder eagerness, are men waiting for the news, as each morning and evening "extra" stamps more indelibly on the page of history, the image of our nation's infamy!

Here let there be no levity, no rashness; but a solemn sense of Divine Justice, to which each people, as each person, is responsible. Let us feel the holy presence of the Lord God Omnipotent, and be purified by this consciousness from self-conceit, excitement, vain imaginations, timidity. Let us speak as wise men, and not as visionaries, or fanatics; for the visionary shrouds existing facts in the golden mists or glowing vapors of his fancy, and the fanatic darkens the air with the sooty fumes of his passion. Let us speak as good men, and not as the time-servers, or the willful; for the time-server thinks to mock God by the masks with which he deludes man, and the willful seeks, with hot haste, to forge the solid reality into instruments of his caprice. May the pure light of Truth, pervaded by the warmth of Love, break in upon us like the morning. May the grand associations of this Hall surround us like an atmosphere. Let us confer together on our duties as Christians, and as free Americans. For the end of insuring brevity and collectedness, I will arrange what I have to say in four propositions, of which this is the

First, That the bond of union between the several States constituting this nation, has been broken, and the Constitution, which was the legal expression of this Union, has been trampled under foot by the slave-power.

Am I asked for proof of this strong assertion? It is abundant, and at hand. What was the bond of union between the States constituting this nation? What was it, Sir? Can we dissect and analyze a living body so as to find the vital principle? The bond of union between these States was a Life, a life of common convictions and aspirations, of glorious memories, and more glorious hopes. The essence of this nation was the Christian religion,—announcing a Heavenly Father, commanding human brotherhood. Its fundamental principle, as a body politic, was the common and civil law, asserting the inalienable rights of every human being, and the claim of every citizen to equal justice. These found embodiment in the Declaration of Independence, the Bills of Rights, the National and State Constitutions. And thus a nation was born, in the fullness of time,—as the hope of Christendom and the world,—consecrated to liberty and law, combining in harmony as no nation had ever done before—Freedom and Union. How bright seemed its promise, how magnificent its possible destiny! The various

States were bound together as members of a living whole, and the spirit of this growing body was humanity,—the respect and the love of man, as man.

But, alas! hypocrisy in practice poisoned from birth its fountain-head of life. It professed Freedom, and tolerated Slavery, professed brotherhood, and tolerated castes. Yet even in this treachery to the essence and principle of the nation, an element of honor and confidence was intermingled. For it was the universal understanding, that this abominable institution, this outrage upon Christian charity, this mockery of civil justice, would progressively be banished, and finally destroyed. So much for tampering with the devil! The wily tempter humbly begged food and shelter for the night, and when morning broke he declared himself master. Steadily has the slave-power grown, till from bargaining for a few years' tolerance, it holdly asserts, through official documents to foreign States, that Slavery is the national policy; and presumptuously wields the highest national functions for the avowed end of indefinitely extending and perpetuating slaveholding institutions. I ask, what bond of union remains, where religion, law, good faith, honor, self-respect, humanity, are thus basely violated; where every professed principle is slighted; where even hope of redemption from this curse is lost? It is a ridiculous farce any longer to speak of a union between two such principles as Slavery and Freedom. Necessarily they are hostile, and as necessarily pledged to each others extermination. The slave-power has broken the Union.

And does it need, Sir, many words to prove that the Constitution has been trampled under foot? Is it not notorious in this country, and throughout the civilized world, that the whole plot of Texas Annexation, from its base conception to its baser consummation, has been progressively, in every stage, an infringement of constitutional obligations? In its motive and its means has it not been publicly convicted of being a scheme of slaveholding aggrandizement? Have not the corrupt intrigues, by which it has been forced upon the nation, been nakedly exposed? Nay, have not the very concoctors of the whole series of measures, which have resulted in robbing Mexico, and extending the area of Slavery over her once



## NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD

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us, for this sin, by Europe, we have only the forecast of that vial of wrath which Heaven will surely pour down, and with which history will condemn this "unparalleled outrage upon Mexico,"—the spirit of the age, the means, and ends of the war, the intelligence of the people, considered,—as the most perfidious, cowardly, actually devilish war ever committed upon earth. Sir! I may seem to be using words of extravagance; but before God, and in the calm, still light of conscience, am I deliberately convinced, that no professedly civilized, and Christian nation was ever guilty of so profligate a piece of villainy as this, which our nation is at this instant engaged in. I do not except Great Britain in India, nor France under Bonaparte, nor Russia in the subjugation of Poland.

There is one fact, in relation to this projected conquest of Mexico, which is not sufficiently set in the light. It is, that Mexico would gladly, up to the very last moment, have avoided hostilities, but that she has been actually forced to fight, or surrender herself to utter extinction. I point for confirmation of this statement to the letters of Mr. Sill and Mr. Black. It is there made manifest, that she would have given up Texas peacefully. Only when she found, that she had no mercy to expect from the ruthless sons of the old Norman and Saxon marauders; only when it was perfectly apparent, that the settled purpose of the United States was to blockade her ports, seize on California, and then bully and bribe her into passive compliance, did she bravely resolve to die, if die she must, on her frontiers. Sir! the world already knows, and history will repeat the fact with indignant execration,—that it has been the deliberate plot, for these long years, of the faction which now rules this nation, to compel Mexico into conflict, in order to find some pretext for stealing California. Oh, would that this atrocious crime had been committed unmasked, and unblushing; for it adds the blackest shade of all to this deep-dyed fraud, that we should now pretend that Mexico is the aggressor. Alas! an American, a countryman of Washington and Franklin, of Jay and Madison, can no longer hold up his head amidst the most shameless courts of the old world. No diplomacy has been so skulking; no deeds of force so gratuitous, as those of this free Republic. It is the old story of the wolf and the lamb. We have lived in order to find an excuse to kill; and then killed because the lies detected. The slave-power needs the whole of Mexico, and by guile, by gold, or by the red right hand, will she have it. This faction needs the whole of Mexico. Is not this most manifest from the fact, that although the Mexican troops have retired from the Rio Bravo, we are yet preparing to march upon the capital? Why fight another battle, unless Mexico seeks to drive our army from the provinces already stolen? Is it not perfectly obvious to the most stupid, that the design is to make Mexico *pay* us, for having murdered some thousands of her sons, and pillaged and taken possession of some millions of her broad acres, by yielding California? What words are there, Sir, hot and hard enough, to brand with the mark of the beast, as it deserves, this infernal triune policy, of robbery—murder—fraud? And why does the slave-power need the whole of Mexico? That thereby, the institution of Slavery,—now overborne, and tottering under the condemnation and the commercial policy of the civilized world,—may be re-established; that new and endless markets may be opened for slaves, and thus their home-value heightened;—that the dynasty of slaveholders may be permanently entrenched over the United States. And for such an end the freedom of this nation is to be sacrificed to the battle and by position!!! This brings us to the

Fourth proposition: That the Governor of Massachusetts, in disregard of the State's most solemn, explicit, and repeated declarations of its will, and his own explicit confession of the claims of justice and duty, has dared to summon the freemen of Massachusetts to fight the battles of the slaveholding dynasty.

Where, Sir, is the spirit of '76, that the citizens of the capital of this Commonwealth have not long since crowded this venerable Hall to watch their hands forever from all participation in this nation's crime? Why did not our bells toll backward over our deep disgrace? Where was the shade of Governor Strong, that it did not stand by the table of the present Executive, and guide his pen to give a stern refusal to the President's proclamation?

They say, in the streets, that the fatal step of obedience to the slave-power is not taken,—that Massachusetts is not yet disgraced by this base compliance,—that her volunteers may yet be kept upon their own soil. Ah! believe it, ye who can. It tears the very heart-strings out, as I say it,—but for one, I have lost my confidence in my mother-State. But two years since, Sir, and Massachusetts stood alone, in glorious dignity, the standard-bearer of the faithful; she had it in her power by her veto to have put an end forever to the Texas-plot; even this last summer, had she rallied bravely in behalf of freedom, she might have stayed the consummation of this base iniquity; but when her great men and her wise men met together even in this sacred Cradle of Liberty, and worked off the indignant energies of a noble people in empty boasts, half-promises, and treacherous timidity; and when even such pledges as she did give were shuffled aside, postponed, shrunk from, broken; then, Sir, her scattered sons, over the length and breadth of this land, wrung their hands in utter heart-sickness; and the doom of this nation was sealed. Oh! we have forfeited this priceless opportunity of being the mediator, the saviour of a nation, and such a nation, for the poor soul of commercial profits, party power, and official honor,—what an irreparable wrong! The pillars of Massachusetts' fame have crumbled; her spotless flag lies trailing in the dust. She is a bye-word among the States; her name is a synonyme for bragging.—Let her send her volunteers; for if they stay, it will be thought to be pure cowardice. Let her doff her mantle of pride, and put on her rags of shame. Let her play the jockey to the Southern lion.

And now, fellow-citizens, the portrait of our nation, in her present attitude is completed. Take one view of it as a whole. We are without a Union,—without a Constitution,—ruled with the sword by the slave-power,—betrayed by our leaders,—given up to be the tame serfs of an unprincipled faction,—who summon us to extend, by murder and marauding, the dominion of Slavery to the Pacific and the Isthmus of Panama!

What is to be done? I will tell you, what I think is to be done. I open to you my heart and judgment, in the full consciousness that we are all standing under the eye of God, and "compassed about with a cloud of many witnesses." The spirits of the great and good of all ages, the spirits of our ancestors, who bequeathed to us the legacy of their deeds and characters, and entrusted their infant institutions to our keeping, are around us. Let us breathe in magnanimity from such communion. Let us hear their voices.

I. Individually and collectively, let us pledge ourselves to give no manner of countenance, aid, encouragement, to this war; but in every way to show that our sympathy is with the oppressed and not with

II. Individually and collectively, let us pledge our contributions to the support of the families of those who, being drafted, refuse to serve, and take the penalty.

These two steps are duties; anything less should be cowardly submission to wrong. Can it be possible that there is a man here unwilling to pledge himself in no way to abet this deed of robbery and murder? Dare we stand in Faneuil Hall, and speak in extenuation of this career of aggression, down which the rulers of this people are seeking to plunge us? Does not every man of common-sense and common virtue, in his heart condemn the whole Texas plot, from beginning to end, as a scheme of unequalled meanness? And now is it for the sons of the Pilgrims to be bullied into upholding this trick of political gamblers by their blood and treasure? It has been said, with most transparent sophistry, that this war is no worse than all wars; because in every war there must be a contest of justice with injustice; and that what is based on the part of the United States is counterbalanced by what is noble on the part of the Mexicans, who are equally our brethren. What an amount of high motive and devotion to good, then, must there be in the people of Mexico, to counterpoise the concentrated selfishness which prompts this nation in its attempt to crush a sister republic. In what a position does a citizen stand when he must pray, if pray he can at all, to see his country humbled! Surely every generous heart must long to see Mexico triumph.

[Here there was a cry of "Shame, shame," accompanied with hisses from the gallery, when the Speaker, looking up to the disturbers, continued:] Brethren, though this insult to me is meant in unkindness, do you think to silence by such boyish tumult a man who has made up his mind as to duty? If you do, you may as well go home! I will tell you the truth. Take heed how you hear. Come to yourselves. It is not the manhood within you which sends forth these hisses; but a remnant of the old serpent. I speak to you, as knowing that every idle word will be written down in judgment. Listen as men who are each alike responsible. You can not make truth a lie, or right wrong, by your wilfulness.

I deliberately repeat, I long to see Mexico victorious. If there must be battle: at least God grant that there be always courage and devotion on the side of right—and Mexico is in the right. Her whole position and action, the dignity of her State papers, her temperance under gross provocation, her determination to uphold the cause of Liberty against Slavery, her resolve to guard her frontier from invasion, do her honor in the eyes of the on-looker; and her glory deepens by contrast the blackness of our shame. Before Heaven and my countrymen, do I, for one, solemnly declare, that could I be forced to fight in this inhuman struggle, it should be under the banner of Mexico. Any other course would seem to me impious and damnable; a fighting against God, and playing the coward. Mexico, weak-handed, is defending the cause of Universal Freedom; she needs, and deserves aid, and the best way to aid her is to give the weight of the moral influence of this nation against those who now control the Executive action. Who doubts,—that, if the good and wise throughout the land, North and South, who in their consciences detest this war, would cast aside timidity, time-serving, mock modesty, fear of losing caste, dread of nicknames and insult, party subservience and sloth, and unite in a remonstrance against it,—our volunteers would disband,—justice would be done,—plans of aggression would be arrested, and peace would seal up again this crater of hellish passion? Pledging ourselves to stand aloof from the contest is the right and the only way of throwing whatever influence we have into the scale of justice; and of freeing ourselves from all implied connivance at the guilt of our rulers. And if we will thus pledge ourselves in no way to be accessories to the nation's crime; the same considerations must surely lead us to promise support in aid of the families of those who may be drafted, and who refuse to serve. Our ancestors made great sacrifices in a cause which involved no such sacred principle, as is involved in this. Our struggle for independence was a far less just one than the effort of Mexico to keep her soil unstained by the system of Slavery, which unprincipled invaders are seeking to force upon her. Are we such degenerate sons and daughters as to grudge small sacrifices now? In olden times the chosen people gave of their substance a tithe to the Lord. This cause of Peace and Freedom is God's cause. His mercy-seat is forever and everywhere the loving heart. His true Levites are in all lands, and times, the self-sacrificing. Let all then, now,—who feel this claim of human brotherhood—who long for the deliverance of the captive—who seek to redeem this nation from the hypocritical union of Slavery and Liberty—who pray that Mexico may be saved from the ruin with which the relentless Slave-Power threatens her—come up joyfully, as to a religious service, and pay their tithes in contributions for the keepers of the peace. This shall we become peace-makers; and the benediction shall be upon us.

Here, then, are two plain, practical measures, suited to the present emergency. Are we ready to adopt them for ourselves, to urge them upon others? Let us decide coolly, in full view of the consequences involved! How will such a course of conduct be considered, and what, in itself, will it really be? I will tell you, in two words. It will be considered TREASON, it will be *LOYALTY*. Choose ye, like men, between the appearance and the reality. This is one of the trials times, that proves the virtue, the manliness of a man. "Do ye love the praise of man more than the praise of God?" and that solemn question cuts to the quick. The signers of this pledge of peace will be called traitors. It is hard to bear such a name, but it is much harder to *deserve* it. And who are really the betrayers of this nation? We have already seen. They are the *FACTION*, who, for selfish ends, by fraudulent and forceful means, have compelled Mexico to fight us for her own self-preservation. In their insane course of selfish and political aggrandizement, these men have overturned the altar of our national religion, and torn down in ruins the national halls of justice. Fellow-citizens, the only deed of true patriotism now to be done, is to save our household gods,—the images of our fathers,—and their treasured legacy of great principles, from the desecration of this lawless oligarchy. He is the true American, who is ready, in this hour of the apparent triumph of oppression, to swear again his allegiance to freedom, and to freedom only. He is the true Christian, who, scorned the commands of any earthly ruler, re-devotes himself, in this hour of popular delirium in favor of war, to the service of the Prince of Peace.

I have told you what the signers of this pledge would be considered, and what they would really be. Do you say we are ready? It is well! Yet for one moment longer consider the possible consequences to yourselves and your families, of signing this pledge. Act not in so solemn a matter rashly. This war of conquest is but begun. The papers, indeed, assure us that it will be a short war. Before winter

comes, the "booted loafers," as Mr. Wise was wont to call them, are to plant the American Eagle in the Capital of Mexico,—to "revel in the halls of the Montezumas,"—to plunder the churches of the "lazy priesthood,"—to heap their wagons with golden ingots,—and our ships are to ride at anchor in the harbors of California, under the banner of the stars and stripes. So boast the prophets of the Press. Alas! it may be otherwise ordered in the councils of Heaven. This only is clear,—if ever, on this earth, a nation deserved disaster, it is the United States. And for one, I see the possibility of quite a different destiny. Looking forward for some two years or more, I seem to see an army wasted by pestilence, cut off, hemmed in amidst a hostile nation,—volunteers few and feeble, and quite sick of glory,—a bankrupt treasury,—a prostrate commerce,—a perished, divided people,—and meanwhile the tornado of Indian warfare is sweeping the western frontier, and black clouds surcharged with blood are rising from the low plains of the South. Certainly it is no exaggeration to say, that such horrors may, possibly, be lurking beneath this crimson curtain of fate which we have lifted. Certainly it is possible, that the prediction of John Quincy Adams may be verified, and the "end of Texas Annexation" yet prove to be a four-fold war,—a foreign, Indian, civil, and slave war. A wise man should arrange his plans accordingly. What will you do, when a draft is made in order to put back the red men, whom we have maddened by abuse,—to quell the rising of the long-crushed slave,—to redeem our scattered forces from the mountain passes, and the guerilla bands of Mexico? What will you do when a hiring press shouts "to the lamp-post,"—when a ruffian mob is quick to do a tyrant's bidding,—when martial law has substituted the bullet and the halberd for the even scales of Justice? Are you ready, amidst such an ordeal, to stand firm to Freedom, to bear in patience your share of the penalty, which evil rulers, chosen by an evil people, have justly brought upon the nation?

Then come, volunteers in the hosts of God's faithful,—true sons and daughters of the stern Puritans! Summon up what is in you of the old Berberic courage, of Anglo-Saxon independence. We are called to an easy duty,—the not doing wrong; and to a slight penalty,—the insults of wrong-doers. And yet to discharge nobly that duty, and to bear magnanimously that penalty, needs more than Spartan firmness, even CHRISTIAN HEROISM. Come up,—enroll your names,—enlist recruits in every town and city,—and marshal your hands, armed only with the ploughshare and the pruning-hook, beneath the white banner of Peace. We may be accused in an evil generation,—may be called fanatics and fools,—may be imprisoned, strangled, shot. But I tell you, that in this very hour we are putting on a robe of honor; and far off may be heard the congratulations of the coming ages.

But, Mr. Chairman, and fellow-citizens! I have not yet done. Another step,—besides those of pledging ourselves to peace, and contributing to the support of those thus pledged,—should, it seems to me, be taken, and that straightway. The measures already described have reference to a present emergency; the one now to be stated is prospective, and looks far into the future. I say, then, as the result of my most deliberate judgment, that the time has fully arrived when the people of these States should *consolidate together as to the formation of a new Union, and the adoption of a new Constitution*. The slave-power has, by this last blow, destroyed this nation, as it has been in the past. The time is very near at hand, when the most cautious and conservative will clearly recognize, what the sagacious and bold already know and declare, that the people of the United States are resolved into their original elements. The bond of mutual confidence is broken forever; the sovereign law has been irretrievably slighted. The most ambitious will soon be made to feel, that pecuniary offers, grudgingly given, and jealously watched, are but poor wages for sycophancy and degrading compromise. The most covetous will, ere long discover, that the unsteady policy of men who use great measures of statesmanship only as hobbies whereon to ride up to power, taxes their income too heavily, and makes gain too precarious to be tolerated. Doubtless the promise of new markets in Texas, and of safe ports in California, has proved a tempting bait to the commercial and manufacturing world. Doubtless the mercenary even dare to rejoice in the present war, because it has "saved the tariff, and put off, indefinitely, the sub-treasury." But how soon will such joy turn to mourning. The perpetual dread of new enormities, leading to new confusions, must necessarily so perplex business operations as to spread mildew and blight over the greenest prosperity. And how much is this war of endless aggression to cost? First Santa Fé, then California, then Mexico proper, then Cuba, then Haiti? Is not the plan of the campaign marked out, and is it not appalling in its extent and probable duration? Does any man flatter himself that the presumptuous, unscrupulous dynasty, which now commands us, will be tamed and made temperate by success? Who will pay for the vast expenditures of these ever-expanding conquests, even if we triumph? And how long can a general war be avoided if this Republic, under the guidance of the madmen who have seized upon its management, rushes forward to possess the whole continent? Finally, how soon will high military honor be made the necessary avenue to the presidency, and the Government of this free people become in fact, if not in name, a dictatorship? Can a student of history can an observer of men, doubt of the result? On the low ground of sordid calculation, and mere private interest. I say, then, the time has fully come, when it behooves the freemen of this nation to band together, and form, while they yet may, a new Union.

But, friends, and fellow-countrymen, I urge this policy of a New Union, a New Constitution, from the highest and holiest considerations which can prompt patriots to act. Only by such a course can we preserve what there is of vitality in the nation. The fundamental principles of our free institutions have been too much and too long sneered at as visionary abstractions. Hypocritical faithlessness to our professed axioms of Government has made us incapable of conceiving clearly the great ideas of our ancestors. Reverence and loyalty give way more and more to mercenaryness, partisanship, place-hunting, and love of power. A sublime truth in the mission of this free nation, as the herald of a new era for Christendom and humanity is transformed into an eager passion for territorial aggrandizement and an insatiable lust for wealth. The very image, which cheered our fathers on through every trial, of a Christian Commonwealth has vanished from our firmament. The truly divine ideal,—which should be the perpetual inspiration of this people,—of an equality in rights and chances has died out of men's hearts; and yielding to the sway of custom, neighbor vs. neighbor in rearing the caste of capital. The aristocracy of money has usurped the place of reverence for man. Now, no one who has studied the history of this country can doubt, that the institution of Slavery,—by its perpetuation of an order of landed nobility,—and the habits it has necessarily cherished of ostentation and luxury, by the class of professional politicians it has bred, has been the most prolific source of the evils which most endanger our existence as a Republic. But this evil influence must be

cast aside, will be cast aside. We need to replace ourselves where our fathers stood, and even on a higher ground than theirs; to take up the problems of Government and society which they left unsolved, and to carry out and complete their imperfect work. We need to re-assess more strongly and boldly than they did, the great doctrine of human rights, and to apply it practically to life, as they did not dream of. We need to realize indeed and in truth a Christian brotherhood, a Union of FREEMEN.

And this shall yet be done, soon done, God grant.—With no gloomy austerities let us close, but only with serene and steady hope. The power of evil is strong in this generation, in this country, but the spirit of humanity is stronger. Thousands, who a few years since stood back from all reforms, are now enlisted earnestly in the cause of man's redemption. Universal principles of justice are asserted in the face of the selfish maxims of expediency. The mere declaration, that the slave is a man, and entitled to all the rights and privileges of manhood, has opened in the consciences of multitudes a wholly new view of the worth of a human being, and of the true view of human life. Amidst us is already rising the promise of a purer day,—of confession of its past hypocrisies and outrages,—of willing obedience to right. I call upon you, fellow-freemen, to hasten on this better time; go into your towns and neighborhoods, and proclaim that the union between Freedom and Slavery is at an end; that the Constitution, which professes liberty and establishes oppression, is thrown aside; assert in their length and breadth the essential principles of the nation—Christian love, and civil freedom;—call primary assemblies of the people to consider the present crisis, and their duties; raise the rally cry of a New Union, a New Constitution; and thus in God's own time, shall we become, if we are but faithful, brave, and patient, what he from the first designed us to be, a NATION OF UNITED FREEMEN.

And now, Mr. Chairman, as a summing up of the whole subject, I beg leave to present to the meeting the following preamble, and resolution:

Whereas, the Constitution of the United States has been trampled under foot by the slave-power, and the bond of union between these States broken in fragments; and whereas, we are therefore living not under a legal Constitutional Government, but a lawless oligarchy of slaveholders, and their vessels; and whereas, these slaveholders have planned this nation into the most atrocious war, by atrocious means;—a war of endless aggression for the unlimited establishment of Slavery,—means, which violate constitutional restrictions, and the obligations and decrees of international law; and whereas, the Governor of Massachusetts, in disregard of the State's most solemn, explicit, and repeated declarations of its will, and his own unequivocal confession of the claims of justice and duty, has dared to summon Massachusetts freemen, to fight the battles of the slaveholding dynasty;

Therefore Resolved, That the people of Massachusetts, do here and now deliberately assert, that there is no longer a Union, a Constitution, a National Executive; that no citizen is under any kind of obligation of patriotism or honor, to aid this act of unparalleled outrage upon Mexico; that a participation in this war, is an act of conspiracy with lawless marauders, and murderers, against this nation; and that we announce for ourselves, and recommend to our fellow-citizens, every where, these three measures, as suitable to the present crisis:

I. Individually and collectively, to pledge ourselves in no way to countenance, encourage, or aid this inhuman and impious robbery of Mexico.

II. Individually and collectively, to pledge our contributions to support the families of those, who being drafted for this war, refuse to serve and take the penalty.

III. To meet in primary assemblies of the people, and in County, State, and General Conventions, for the end of re-establishing this prostrate Republic, of forming a new bond of Union, which shall be a Union of freemen, and of freemen only; and of adopting a new Constitution, which shall be founded upon principles of universal justice, and fitted in all its articles, to secure the equal rights of every citizen to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;—and thus of organizing this people, into the nation, which God in his Providence designed it to be—a NATION OF UNITED FREEMEN.

Never did I listen to so much lofty eloquence, and close reasoning combined, as at this Convention. Never did I see Anti-Slavery enthusiasm at so high and sustained a pitch. It was called a New England Convention, but its spirit acknowledged no such territorial limitations. Men thronged from the North, and from the East, and from the West, to sit down in this new kingdom of righteousness. I tell you, my friend, that a NEW GOVERNMENT is now seen of all men to have begun. Here were your friends, the Donaldsons, of Ohio,—the earliest supporters of the cause in the West, and faithful till this hour. Samuel Brooke, too, was here, and many another, whose New England Abolitionists rejoiced to welcome for their work's sake. An influence went out from this great gathering, into every other anniversary meeting in the city. The Peace Society, (now bent with its clerical appeal, in like manner as the Anti-Slavery Society was divided—the living from the dead—in 1840), was made to feel that whoever would have peace, must first strive for purity. Some of the peace men who have been wont to ask, in the past years of our anti-slavery struggle with traitors and swindlers,—Why are these people quarrelling among themselves?—are now experimentally made aware of the folly their question implied. Now, that the orthodox clergy of their peace society issue a circular, urging an attendance of the orthodox members to east out the Unitarians, and decide that women are not members, and all for the sake of accommodating "Polk, Dallas, and Texas" on its platform, with all the advocates of *defensive* war, some light gleams upon their minds as to the true nature and cause of the "quarrel" about the Anti-Slavery cause. Stephen Foster spoke in this peace meeting with great beauty, power, and effect. As his speech related to the general principles on which alone can any reform proceed, I may send it to you hereafter.

Mr. Jackson said, "We claim that it was a religious meeting."

Judge—"It was not a meeting for the worship of God."

Jackson—"Yes, it was. We are for God. The object of our meeting was the highest act of worship that I can conceive of."

Judge—"Was it opened with prayer?"

Jackson—"The meeting on Tuesday, in Faneuil Hall, and the meeting yesterday was a consecration of that. It is expected that when in our meetings we shall all pray, either mentally or audibly."

The noise gave our Whig Alderman Preston a pre-  
tence for closing Faneuil Hall against the Convention on the last evening. He evidently thought, poor man, that he could excuse himself by making believe to be afraid of a mob; but it is easy to see that the day of Boston mobs has gone by. The five thousand mobocrats of 1835, are now, for the most part, favorably inclined towards Disunion. If not anti-slavery, they are at least opening their eyes to the folly of being pro-slavery.

Thus it is that Providence makes instruments of the unwilling and indifferent, to sustain those who are true and willing in its service. I wish I had time to tell you half ready in its service. The power of evil is strong in this generation, in this country, but the spirit of humanity is stronger. Thousands, who a few years since stood back from all reforms, are now enlisted earnestly in the cause of man's redemption. Universal principles of justice are asserted in the face of the selfish maxims of expediency. The mere declaration, that the slave is a man, and entitled to all the rights and privileges of manhood, has opened in the consciences of multitudes a wholly new view of the worth of a human being, and of the true view of human life. Amidst us is already rising the promise of a purer day,—of confession of its past hypocrisies and outrages,—of willing obedience to right. I call upon you, fellow-freemen, to hasten on this better time; go into your towns and neighborhoods, and proclaim that the union between Freedom and Slavery is at an end; that the Constitution, which professes liberty and establishes oppression, is thrown aside; assert in their length and breadth the essential principles of the nation—Christian love, and civil freedom;—call primary assemblies of the people to consider the present crisis, and their duties; raise the rally cry of a New Union, a New Constitution; and thus in God's own time, shall we become, if we are but faithful, brave, and patient, what he from the first designed us to be, a NATION OF UNITED FREEMEN.

The Convention resolved to sanction the Massachusetts celebration of the Fourth of July, at Dedham, and from what I learn of the eloquent speakers already under promise to be there, from all parts of the country, the fine band of wind-instruments to be engaged for the occasion, and all the festive accessories which the women of the cause are determined to sanctify the day withal, for the service of the slaves, I cannot but anticipate a cheering and awakening occasion.

The Convention also warmly seconded the idea of a broadcast circulation of the Standard, at this critical moment, when so many are about to be ignorantly precipitated into the sanction of measures from which they would start back in horror, could they know their full scope and design. From what I saw, I should think that a hundred persons subscribed on the spot. You must not be afraid of being tedious, consequently, by the reiteration of old principles and old arguments, since you will have a new auditory. Yours, truly,

S. X.

Yearly Meeting.

The Orthodox Friends here just concluded their annual five-days session. And what have they done? Examined the "state of society," received and answered a few queries, &c. But with the great benevolent movements of Christendom, the distribution of the Bible,—preaching the Gospel to the heathen,—reforming the iniquities,—letting the oppressed go free, they have done little.

Let them ask themselves whether God requires a people of high professions—a people favored of Heaven, literally to "keep in the quiet"—to discontinue their Bible society—to preach not where violence threatens—to fellowship wine and elder gentry, and "dij-won" common drunkards—to remonstrate against "annexation" to slave territory, and form a "Free Produce Association," which expended ten dollars the last year, and then shut their Meeting-house against the Anti-Slavery meetings of their own members?

Shade of the intrepid Fox, turn not hitherward to be grieved at finding thy "disciples asleep," unless thou come to arouse them to imitate thy bold example—to draw their light from "under the bed"—to proclaim truth "upon the house-top"—to challenge discussion in theology, and to attack the strong holds of Satan, regardless, as thou wast, of stripes, prisons, ropes.

A FRIEND.

From our Baltimore Correspondent.

BALTIMORE, June 7, 1846.

Dear Sir—The apathy which generally prevails our city on all subjects in warm weather, is now only broken by the cry of "to arms, to arms," "volunteer," &c.; and even this spirit seems to wane a little since most of the volunteers left. Who helps on this unholy war? Who countenances it? And is the man who kills a fellow-man on the Rio Grande any less a murderer in the eyes of his God than he who kills his enemy in any other locality? A daily paper of our city said of the volunteers, who left a few days since for the field of blood, that they were "a fine-looking body of men, young and hearty," and another said, "they are as fine a body of men as we ever have seen together, and showed conclusively that they were made of the right sort of matter to make the best soldiers." The facts are these: by the universal acclamation of our citizens, and with some exceptions there, they were "as ragged, filthy, and drunken set as could be found in the city." I visited their camp the last Sunday they were here, expecting to see them in their "go-to-meeting rig," as I understood one of our Divines was to preach to them on that occasion; but instead of finding them listening to the Gospel, (1) they were "drilling," a sort of A B C to scientific and honorable murder, which is very necessary for the young volunteer to learn before he makes his debut. And two or three hundred filthy shirts never seen on one set of men. I don't mean to say they all had on dirty shirts, as a close buttoned vest in some cases would seem to indicate the entire absence of that useful garment. Yet these pandering, money-serving, neutral penny shams, could make the above quoted remarks to make it appear that Baltimoreans were patriotic and brave, and had raised a "fine-looking body of men." Of the right sort of matter for this war. Should any of our sister cities wish "to raise men of the right sort of matter," just go to the grocers and there you will find them, and as was remarked of Capt. S. of one of our volunteer companies, "get the run out of them, and they will make first-rate soldiers." The Press is not alone in justifying this war. One of our clergy preached to them at Washington, last Sunday, at their quarters, and told them their duty as Christian soldiers, and cautioned them not to get shot in the back. That he had once been a soldier, and even then felt the spirit with such force as he almost wished himself one of their number. If this man was not an *ordained*, licensed preacher, I should question the Christian principle of such a mode of preaching, but as there can be no mistake about the Apostolic succession, I suppose I am not at liberty to call it in question. I heard another clergyman exclaim, on being told that one of the Catholic priests was drowned in attempting to swim the Rio Grande, "God be praised for any such blessing he sends us." During the conversation he remarked to a missionary that he had better come to his parish, as he might raise some money; the leading man in his church was rich, he owned five hundred slaves. The missionary, not having heard the cry of "send back that blood-stained money," concluded to go. A Reverend Chaplain in Congress prayed that "victory might perch on our banners," in one of his prayers before that body recently. Who helps on this war? Yours, for Peace,

N.

To the Abolitionists of the West.

New-York, June 1st, 1846.

The American Anti-Slavery Society, at its late annual meeting, in New-York.

Resolved, That in view of the present exigencies of the cause, and the plan of the campaign of the ensuing year, we will raise the sum of ten thousand dollars.

In accordance with this resolution, the Executive Committee of the Society, resolved that a special fund be raised in the West to sustain agents in that field, and further resolved to contribute from the Treasury of the Society for that purpose,

Thomas Donaldson, pledged \$400 00  
Mary Donaldson, " 100 00  
C. B. Taylor, of Pittsburgh, " 50 00

Total 600 00

All subscriptions and donations to this fund, will be promptly acknowledged in the Anti-Slavery Bugle; and the friends of the cause are earnestly solicited to forward their names, with the amount they are willing to contribute, to be paid within the year, to James Barnaby, Jr., or the editors of the Anti-Slavery Bugle, at Salem, Co. Columbia county, Ohio.

Individuals are requested to become volunteer agents, to procure subscriptions in their respective neighborhoods, and to forward the names of the contributors with the amount subscribed as above specified.

Abolitionists of the West, shall not the above sum be quadrupled? Your replies to that question will be heard in your actions. Will you not act? With a little effort, the sum may be more than quadrupled, and eight or ten lecturing agents kept in the field during the year. Respectfully,  
SAMUEL BROOKE,  
General Agent, of Am. A. S. Society for the West.

## The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, JUNE 11, 1846.



The Standard.

If our readers will turn to the imprint of this week's paper they will observe a change therein. The name of only one of those hitherto known as the editors remains; and the price of the paper is reduced just one-half from the former full price, and is now uniform to all subscribers. We have a few words, by way of explanation, on both these changes; and on the last, first.

The price of the Standard is now put at ONE DOLLAR PER ANNUM. This we believe to be low enough to bring it within the means of everybody who wishes to read it. If it is good for anything it has that much value, and if it has it not, it had better not be printed.

The object in putting it at so low a price is not to make money. That a strictly Anti-Slavery paper never did, and never will do, till Slavery is abolished. Nor do we do it because we think the Standard is not worth its former price, and our labors need cheapening. But our only and sole purpose is to increase our circulation: really to "extend the area of Freedom;" to have as large an audience as possible to listen to us weekly; to shed upon the people anti-slavery light, and to bribe them to receive it by giving it to them at the American estimate of the goodness of everything—its cheapness. The Abolitionists, it has been well said, "have conquered a peace." They have, to a great degree, silenced clamor, overcome capriciousness, and shamed selfishness. They were never despised,—they are no longer now, in the hearts of the people, hated. They command respect, and their demand to be heard is listened to with quiet and earnest attention. We mean that the American Anti-Slavery Society shall be known and heard through its organ, and we ask now, of its friends everywhere, as they value the cause, that they shall give of their time and the trifles of the cost of the paper, to scatter the seed, which we deal out to them, broadcast, and with a lavish hand all over the land. In two months from to-day our subscription should be doubled, and in a year it can be quadrupled. We hereby appoint every one of our present subscribers a *special agent for the Standard*. He who pays two dollars now, can, by asking his next-door neighbor to subscribe, still keep that sum good to us, and give us a new reader. Who will shrink from so light a labor as this? We trust there are none who put so small a value upon our labors, and who will not do thus much for the cause's sake.

But much more than this can be done—oneth to be done—will be done. A friend in one of the most prosperous towns of Massachusetts has sent us, within the week, twenty new subscribers. He will send us, he says, ten more. It will not cost him half a day's labor to add thirty subscribers to the three we had before in that village. Another writes: "I got eighteen in three hours." We will send you twenty-five from our place, writes a third. And from one of the larger towns of Massachusetts, we hear that we may expect two hundred in a fortnight. It is only half a dozen people who are making this beginning. Friends, will you go to work at once? Send us in a fortnight the result of your efforts. If you will you will succeed if you try. We are sure that every community where one paper now goes, there are five persons at least who will readily pay one dollar a year for an Anti-Slavery paper of the size and character of ours; and in many places there are hundreds who will gladly do it. Remember, we trust to you as our agents, and we depend on you for the success of our plan.

We believe we do not trust in vain. At the late annual meeting, it was voted by the delegates assembled Committee from all parts of the country, that the *Standard* shall be sustained. We believe these delegates represented the minds of the Abolitionists at large, and we feel confident that our plan will meet with hearty co-operation everywhere, and that our field of usefulness, and our means, will be enlarged together.

The name of a single editor stands in the imprint. Our readers may forget him, however, if they please, and remember that behind him stands a godly company. Mrs. Chapman, and Mr. Quincy, have not withdrawn their names because they mean to cease to work, but because they have taken their places in a rank with many others as contributors to our columns, all whose names it would be useless to publish weekly, though from some of them we look for weekly assistance.

The ability which in future will be employed upon the Standard can make it a paper superior, even in its literary character alone, to any other newspaper in this country. That it will be, in its faithfulness to the highest idea of Anti-Slavery, and in maintaining its position as the visible sign of the cause to be seen and known of all men, there needs no promise from us. What we *can* do we will. And with this proud array of names before them as contributors, we are sure our readers will believe that it is meant at least to do something worthy of the cause and the hour.

ELIZA LEE FOLLEN, JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL,  
REV. JOHN WEISS, MARIA W. CHAPMAN,  
CHARLES F. BRIGGS, REV. WM. F. CHANNING,  
WENDELL PHILLIPS, REV. THOMAS T. STONE,  
EDMOND QUINCY.

Nor is this all. We have beside a regular correspondent promised us in Philadelphia,—and hope also to have one in Baltimore. We shall



Any assistance that can be rendered them in carrying out this plan, either in useful or ornamental work from the hands of ladies, agricultural produce from the industry and kind hearts of farmers, or specimens of mechanical ingenuity from those who work in wood, brass, iron

Donations of any kind may be placed in the hands of the general agent, Wm. W. Brown, or directed to HENRY BU-H, Treasurer, Rochester, N. Y., also, communications may be addressed to the same persons,  
JOSEPH C. HATHAWAY, President.  
SARAH A. BURTIS, Secretary.

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ANNIVERSARY NOTICE.  
The Ohio American Anti-Slavery Society will hold its

Arrangements are being made for the attendance of prominent advocates of the oppressed, not only of our own, but other States; the result of which, with other particulars, will be made known previous to the meeting.

From the increasing interest in this State, we anticipate a GENERAL RALLY. We also invite our friends of Western Pennsylvania, and Eastern Indiana to be with us on that occasion, and aid in devising efficient plans of operation for the coming year.

By order of the Executive Committee of the Ohio A. M. E. Church,

Rec. Secretary.

TO THE ABOLITIONISTS OF MASSACHUSETTS.

*Dear Friends:* At the late annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, measures were adopted to sustain a number of able and devoted lecturers in this State, during the present year. One (Parker Pillsbury) is already in the field. Several others will soon enter. It is desirable so to arrange their labors in connection with other anti-slavery agencies, as to accomplish the greatest amount of good. Of these, the

Worcester North,	Thursday	June	4
Worcester South,	Wednesday,	"	17
Norfolk,	Tuesday,	"	30
Bristol,	Wednesday,	July	18
Plymouth,	First of August celebration.		
Exeter,	Thursday	August	12

Worcester North,	Tuesday,	Sept,	1
Worcester South,	Tuesday,	"	9
Norfolk,	Tuesday,	Oct.	1
Bristol,	Saturday,	"	17
Plymouth,	Thursday,	"	25
Essex,	Wednesday,	Nov.	1
Middlesex,	Tuesday,	"	2
Worcester North,	Saturday,	Dec.	1
Worcester South,	Wednesday,	"	10
Norfolk,	Tuesday,	"	25

one or more of the lecturing agents, to attend all the quarterly meetings in addition to their other labors, thereby giving additional interest as well as efficacy to those meetings. Second, it would break the monotony of the lecturer's life,—and by meeting so frequently with a large number of the tried and faithful friends of the cause, it would serve to cheer and encourage them in the performance of their arduous labors; and their travels (should this proposal be acceded to,) will be so arranged as to enable them all to attend the county meetings.

The friends are requested to preserve this plan for future reference; and should anything occur to prevent any of the meetings taking place at the time indicated, such alterations can be made as circumstances may require.

Those who have in charge the saking of collectivities and sub-scriptions to the Agency Fund, are also requested to make returns soon, as the Board wish to know on what to rely; so that they need not employ more lecturers than they have the means of sustaining.

Yours, for Freedom,  
LORING MOODY,  
*General Agent of the Mass. A. S. Society*

CORRECTED WEEKLY FOR THE STANDARD.		
ASHES.		
Pot, first sort 1845.	3.50	a 2.
Pearl	4.00	a 4.
CANDLES.		
Mould, tallow lb.	9	11
Sperm	23	28
Stearic do.	23	28
COAL.		
Liver-vol, chaldron.	7.00	7.25
Newcastle	6.50	7.25
Seotch	6.00	6.50
IRON.		
Pig, Eng. & Scot.	38.00	40.00
do. American	34.00	36.00
Bar	30.00	32.00
do. rolled	87.50	90.00
do. Russia P. S.	102.50	110.00
do. N. S. Gable	98.00	112.00
do. Sweden	90.00	95.00
do. Eng. com.	77.50	80.00
do. do. refined	90.00	92.50
Sheet & Am. lb.	6	6
Hoop do. do. cwt.	65.50	68.00

COFFEE.			
Java, Gov't per lb.	94 1/2	Bar, lb.	4 1/4
Sumatra	70 1/8	Sheet	4 1/4
7 1/8			
6 1/8		LEATHER.	
Laguayra	8 1/8	Oak lb. (sole.)	10 1/2
Cuba	6 7/8	Hemlock, light	13 1/4
Brazil	7 1/8	do. mid's	13 1/4
St. Domingo	6 7/8	do. heavy, damaged	13 1/4
		do.	10 1/2
COTTON.			
New Orleans	61 1/2	Boards, N. R.	
Alabama	60 1/2	M. fl.	\$8.00 @ 40.00
Florida	62 1/2	do. east pine	11 00 @ 12.00
Upland	60 1/2	do. Albany, piece	10 1/2 @ 11.00

DOMESTICS.			FOREIGNS.		
Shirtings, brown 3-4	54	6	do. oak	30.00	25.00
do. do. 7-8	6	7	Timber oak, cu. ft.	.25	37
do. bleached	7	9	do. Ga. yellow pine	30	35
do. S. I. do.	7	11	Shingle, cy. M.	11.00	13.00
Sheetings, brown 4-4	74	8	Staves w. c. pipe M.	50.00	42.00
do. do. 5-4	10	13	do. do. bhd.	40.00	43.00
do. bleached 4-4	12	15	do. do. oak bhd.	28.00	32.00
do. do. 6-4	12	15	do. do. oak bhd.	28.00	32.00
Calicoes, blue	7	12	Heading, w. c.	45.00	50.00
do. fancy	6	14	Hoops	25.00	30.00
Flaids	9	11	MOLASSES.		
Stripes, fast colors	8	10	New-Orleans, gall.	25	31
			Porto Rico	19	30

Cotton yarn, 6 s 13	15	16	Martinique & Guad., —	a	1
do. 14 s 19	18	20	Havana & Matanzas	30	a 21
do. 20 s 23	22	23	Neuvitas	a	21
DRUGS & DYES.			NAILS.		
Alum, lb.	21	s 3	Cut, 4d & 40d per lb.	4	a 4
Cochineal, Honduras, 150 s	1.80		Cut, 4s and 2d 3 cents	4	a 4
Coppers	14	a	Wagon, 6 s 10	10	a 12
Gum Myrris, E. Indies	31	a 11	Horse-shoe, No. 7 & 9	10	a 12
do. copal, washed	31	a 10	NAVAL STORES.		
do. Arabic Turkey,	25	s 35	Tar, bb.	1.50	1.75
Madder, Dutch	16	18	Pitch	1.00	1.25
Oil of Anise	1.45	1.50	Rosin, N. C. & W.	62	70
castor, gall.	62 1/2	a 67	Corp. Wilton's	30	40.00

VITRUL, BLAS		a 74		OILS.	
<b>DYEWOODS.</b>				Olive, in casks, gall.	58 c 83
Brasileto, ten	18.00	c	25.00	Linsced, American	60 c 63
Camwood	25.00	c	70.00	White refined	30 c 36
Fustic, Cuba	80.00	c	115.00	Sperm, crude	83 c 90
do. Tampico	22.00	c	22.00	do. winter	95 c 96
Logwood, Gyp.	25.00	c	29.00	Lard oil	60 c 65
<b>FEATHERS.</b>				<b>PROVISIONS.</b>	
Live, foreign, lb.	12	c	35	Best meat, lb.	6.50 c 7.00
do. American	28	c	32	do. prime	4.75 c 5.00
<b>FISH.</b>				Pork, mess new, 10.75	c 10.87
Dry cod, cut.	8.00	c	3.06 1/2	do. prime old	8.62 1/2 c 8
Dry scale	1.25	c	1.50	do. cargo	

Smoked do. lb.	9	a	10	do. Orange count	15	a	20
Mackerel, 1 bbl.		a	10.50	do. common	9	a	10
do. No. 2	9.00	a	9.50	Cheese, Am. lb.	7	a	10
do. No. 3	6.00	a	6.25	Hams smoked	5	a	7
Shad, Ct. hf. bbl.		a		RICE.			
Back's't' bbl.		a		Ordinary, 100 lbs.	8.57	a	8.75
Mass.		a		Good to prime	4.50	a	4.50
Herring, pickled		a	3.25	SALT.			
do. scale, per box		a	45	Turks Island, bahael,	40	a	45
do. No. 1		a		Bonaire	40	a	45
do. No. 2		a		Curacao		a	
		a		lvica		a	
FLAX.				Cadix	23	a	
Russia, lb.	9	a	11				

Genesee per bbl.	4.50	a 4.56	Liverpool, gr'd, blk.	a 2.00
Troy	4.50	a 4.50	do, do, sack	1.10 a .90
Michigan	4.87½	a 4.50	do, do, fine	1.23 a 1.00
Ohio, round and flat	4.37½	a 4.50		SOAP.
Pennsylvania	4.50	a	New-York, brown lb.	¾ a 5
Branfynise	4.50	a 4.57½	Castle	¾ a 5
Georgetown	4.50	a 4.75		STEEL.
Baltimore c. mills	4.43	a 4.75	Germán lb.	10¼ a 13
Richmond c. mills	6.00	a 4.50	English, hoop L.	11 a 13
do. country	4.62½	a 4.75	Frieste, in boxes	6¼ a 7
Alexandria	4.62½	a 4.75	American	6 a
Fredericksburg	4.62½	a 4.75	Spring	6½ a 6
Petersburg	4.62½	a 4.75		SUGARS.

do. per bhd.	15.75	16.00	Cuba, Muscovado	6	7
GRAIN.			Porto Rico	6	8
Wheat, Western & N.			Havana, white	9	10
York, per bushel	57½	1.18	do. brown	7	8
do. Southern new	55	95	Cuba, white	8½	9
Rye northern	65	70	do. brown	8½	9
Corn north'n & Jersey	68	76	Brazil, white	9	11
Southern (weight)	69	62	Manilla, brown	11½	12
Barley, N.E.	48	48	Loaf	11½	12
Oats, northern	44	44	rubbed	11½	12
do. southern	35	38	TALLOW.		
do. New Jersey			Foreign, lb.		
Beans, ice.	6.12	7.62	Foreign, 1b.	6½	7

Vanilla, cretish, .....	.00	50	Junpowder	35	50
Russia	138.00	50	lyson	60	50
American, dewrot	80.00	97.50	Fyong Shyu	38	50
do. water rot	120.00	170.50	lyson kien	22	60
HIDES.			Seochung, Powch'g, &c.	15	50
S. A. & Rio Grande, lb.	12 1/2	13	lyhts		
California	4	10	TIN.		
Orisoco	11	11 1/2	Block, South Am. lb.		
Mexican	10 1/2	11	do. East India	15 1/2	30
S. American horse, piece	4	10	in plates & boxes	9.00	9.50
Calcutta, dry	65	75	WOOL.		
HOPS.			San. Yr. Racee, No.	30	50
First sort 1844, lb.	12 1/2	15 1/2	lo. merino		

Uz, $\mu\text{m}$	$1.00 \pm 2.0$	No. 2	$1.00 \pm 2.0$
Cow			



